

THE
Bishop of BANGOR's
SERMON

Preach'd before the

HOUSE of LORDS,

On Monday, January 30. 1720.

Die Martis 31^o Januarii, 1720.

Ordered by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, That the Thanks of this House be, and are hereby, given to the Lord Bishop of *Bangor*, for the Excellent Sermon by him Preach'd before this House yesterday, in the *Abby-Church, Westminster*; and he is hereby desired to cause the same to be forthwith Printed and Published.

W^m Cowper,
Clerk Parliamentor.

A
SERMON
Preach'd before the
Lords Spiritual and Temporal
IN
PARLIAMENT Assembled,
AT THE
Collegiate Church
OF
St. Peter's Westminster,
On Monday January 30, 1720-21.
Being the ANNIVERSARY of
the MARTYRDOM of King
CHARLES the First.

By BENJAMIN, Lord Bishop of
BANGOR.

LONDON:

Printed for JAMES KNAPTON at the Crown,
and TIMOTHY CHILDE at the *White Hart*,
in *St. Paul's Church Yard.* MDCCLXX.

A
SERMON

Preached before the
Fourth Spiritual and Temperance
IN
PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED
AT THE
Collegiate Church
OF
St. Peter's Westminster.

On Monday January 30. 1790.
Being the ANNIVERSARY of
the MARTYRDOM of King
CHARLES the First.

By BENJAMIN LORD Bishop of
BANGOR.

LONDON.

Printed for JAMES K. ATTON, Stationer,
and TIMOTHY CHURCH, at the Church Lane,
in St. Paul's Church Yard, near the North Gate.

**i Ep. to the Cor. X Ch. the
former Part of the 11th
Verse.**

*Now all these Things hap-
pened unto Them for En-
samples.*



O U will easily per-
ceive, from my chu-
sing these Words
as an Introduction
to what I am now
going to say, That
it is my Design to make use of that
Black and Unhappy Part of our
English History, which we are com-
manded by Authority to call to
mind on *this Day*, in such a man-
ner,

6 *A Sermon preach'd before the*

ner, as to make such Observations upon it, and draw such Lessons from it, as may be of most service to our selves, in order to prevent and avoid those Things which *happened unto* our Forefathers, for *Ensamples* to Us their Posterity : just as the Unhappineffes and Wickednesses of the *Jews* in former Ages, are here in the Text set before the Eyes of their Followers by St. *Paul*.

To open unnecessarily any old Wounds that are now closed up, and make them bleed afresh ; To widen any that are now open, and to inflame them still more and more : These Things are as far from my Inclination and Temper, as They are contrary to All that I know of Religion. I had much rather pour Oyl into Any That remain, and apply nothing but soft and healing Medicines : Nay, if it
were

were possible, I would cast a Veil over every Mark of past Infamy, or even Imperfection, on all Sides; were it not for fear, We might at the same time lose some of the Best Lessons and most Useful Observations for our own Conduct.

To run with Violence against Any One sort of Men now in being: To fix the Guilt of *That* upon All of one General Denomination; which All the Chief of them detested by a public Remonstrance at the Time of the Transaction: To lay *That* upon the Generality of a Nation, which even in the *First Zeal* against it, was declared by public [†] Authority to be the Work of a *Few* ^{† Proclam. King Charles II. 1660.} at that Time possess'd of Power: Or, To load with all possible Aggravations the unjustifiable Proceedings on *One* Side only; and to clear the *Other* of every thing that looks like

8 *A Sermon preach'd before the*

like Guilt: These are Points, which common Justice and Equity (not to mention Compassion and Charity) forbid Us to do.

But to teach Our selves to avoid what we rightly blame in Others; to take Care that True and Just Principles of Public Good do not suffer in the Esteem of Men, thro' the Mistakes or Wickedness of Such as were Strangers to them, or only pretended to make use of them; and that the Memory of *True Patriots* may not be cursed, for the Sake of the *Infamy* of *Usurpers* ruling by mere Power and Arm'd Force: To learn, from the Review of former Unhappineffes, every Thing that can be of Use to help Us in the Preventing Any the like Miseries for the Time to come, or the Curing any present Evils: *These*, and the like, are *Points* worthy of Persons concern'd

House of Lords, Jan. 30. 1720. 9

cern'd for the Good of their Country; and Such, as may render this Fast, not a *Fast for Strife and Debate*, nor merely a Fast for *Shame and Reproach*; but a Day of Useful Instruction in the Paths which lead to Public Peace, and the Establishment of all that is valuable in humane Society.

The main Points which *this Day* recalls to our Minds, I shall connect together in the following Manner, in order to introduce the Observations I design: --- That there was, in the *Days* of our Forefathers to which we now look back, a Zeal in the Representatives of *England*, in Parliament assembled, to oppose Every Arbitrary Encroachment upon the *Legal Liberties* and *Properties* of the Subject: --- That, by degrees, and by the Concurrence of many Accidents, the Passions, and Rage,
B and

10 *A Sermon preach'd before the*

and Revenge of *Some*, by the help of mutual *Provocations*, mix'd themselves too much in the Contest : — That Ambitious and Designing and Desperate Men took occasion from hence to set their own Machines on work : — That the various and contradictory Schemes of *Belief* and *Worship*, embraced at that Time, (All equally honour'd with the Name of *Religion*,) were call'd in to heat the Imaginations of Men, and to help forward the common Ruine : — That at length this ended in the Destruction of the *Legal Constitution* ; in confounding even all Appearance of Freedom in what remain'd of a *Parliament* ; in an *Usurp'd Power*, supported by *Force* against the Consent of the Nation, and with the Abhorrence of the greatest Friends to *Legal Liberty* ; and in the *Murder* of the
KING,

House of Lords, Jan. 30. 1720. II

KING, against the Voices of *All*, but Such as then began to find themselves to have no Security but from an *Arm'd Force*: A *Fact*, which as I truly detest; and am led to do so by all the *Principles* I know any thing of: so, if any Words of mine could aggravate it, consider'd in all its Circumstances, They never should be wanting. These are the Main Parts of the History now before Us; upon which I shall proceed to build some *Observations*. And,

I. I shall take leave to Warn against One Use which may sometimes have been made of *this* Part of our History; and That is, The arguing from the Bad Event of Things, contrary to the Wishes and Designs of the Best and Wisest Men, against all such Opposition to *Illegal Encroachments*, and *Arbitrary*

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12 *A Sermon preach'd before the*

Proceedings, as first open'd the Scene. For, As, in *Argument*, nothing is more *injudicious*, than to plead against *One thing*, because *Another thing*, of a quite different Nature, succeded to It, thro' the wicked Designs of some Men, and the unaccountable Concurrence of a thousand *Accidents*: So, in *Political Affairs*, nothing can be more *fatal*, than to draw a *Conclusion*, from such Events, which must lay the Foundation of Uninterrupted and Hopeless Slavery. The Nature and Reason of Things abhors such an *Inference*; which would at once take away all the Right of a *Free Nation*; and make their Meeting together in *Parliament*, only a more *Solemn Form of Absolute Submission* to whatever the *Will* of Another shall lay upon them. *All* in the Administration of Government, who are
Wise,

Wise, would not wish to have such a Temptation to *Evil* laid in their way : *All*, who are *Good*, would even oppose and prevent such a dangerous Piece of *Servile Subjection* : and *All*, who are *Bad* enough to wish for it, deserve for that very Reason to have the *Terror* of the *Contrary* before their Eyes ; that so, what They will not refrain from for *Conscience*, yet for *Wrath's* Sake may be avoided. Let *that* Lesson, therefore, of *Good*, remain untouched, which under an *Administration*, by which the *Liberties* and *Laws* of the *Country* are preserv'd unviolated, can do no hurt ; and under *One*, which assumes the Power of acting *without* or *against* Law, is of Absolute Necessity to prevent *Public Ruine*.

THERE is the less Occasion for *Argument* upon *this Head*, because
the

14 *A Sermon preach'd before the*

the *Best* of *Those* *Historians*, and *O-*
ther *Writers*, who have shewn the
greatest *Warmth* against what fol-
lowed, yet have been far from con-
demning those *Beginnings* of *Zeal* for
the *Public*, which tended in their na-
tural *Consequences* to the lasting
Good of the *King* and the *Whole*
Body; and could not have been
diverted from attaining that *End*,
but by the *Unreasonableness* and
private *Views* of such on each *Side*,
as had nothing less at *Heart* than
either the *Greatness* of their *King*, or
the *Good* of their *Country*: *Two*
Things, which in our *Constitution*
are so happily *join'd together*, that
They can never be *put asunder*.

And what is still a *Greater*
Consolation, is, that, tho' such *Les-*
sons of *Subjection* may have been
taught by *Persons* of *Leisure*, little
vers'd in the *Affairs* of humane *Life*,
yet

House of Lords, Jan. 30. 1720. 15

yet We have seen with Pleasure that All Sorts, and *Parties*, (if I must use that Word,) of Men amongst Us, have, (to their Honour be it spoken) in their several turns, and as constantly as any Opportunity offer'd it self, openly and zealously made opposition to Any Attempts, which They either knew, or imagin'd, to affect the known Laws and Liberties of their Country. Nay, it must be acknowledg'd, that *None* have shewn more of this Spirit in *Parliament*, than *Those* who have seem'd fearful of giving too great Encouragement to *Liberty*, for fear of the ill Consequences of it: And it ought ever to be accounted one Part of their great Glory, that, *out of Parliament*, in the greatest and happiest Struggle for *Public Liberty*, that the present Generation, or perhaps any other, ever was witness

ness to, *Their Part* was great and remarkable, in opposing the Encroachments of *Arbitrary Power*, and even in inviting an Arm'd Force to make that Opposition successful: The only appearing Difference between *Them* and *Others*, if we may judge by *Practice*, being This, that, whilst They are Both equally jealous of Every suppos'd Attempt against their Liberties, the *One* sort may imagine *That* to be so, which the *Other* do not; and the *One* sort may be fearful lest the Defense of their own *Practice* should impress too great a Sense of *Liberty* upon the Minds of Men, whilst the *Other* may think it best not only to vindicate what is in it self praise-worthy, but to scatter the Light of *Legal Liberty* into all Corners of the Land, and to inspire the Love of it into the Heart of Every Subject. If

House of Lords, Jan. 30. 1720. 17

IF We therefore, consider such Lessons of Submission with regard to the Practice of the Wisest and Best on *all Sides*; We may see how *Vain*, as well as how *Reproachful* on All equally, they are: If we consider them in a *Political Light*; They present Us with nothing but Certain Slavery without any possible *Chance* for the contrary: If We consider them in the way of *Argument* merely; They are no better than *This*, That We ought not to do what is necessary for the preservation of a Whole Nation, because it may happen that We may be ruined afterwards in another way; or, That a Man ought not to save himself from present Imminent Death, because it is possible that in the Struggle He may put himself into a *Fever* which may afterwards prove mortal;

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tal; Or, That a *Good Thing* ought not to be attempted, because a *Bad Thing* may possibly happen some Time afterwards, which is neither the natural Consequence of the *Former*, nor could be foreseen by the *Wise*st of Men. This leads us to observe,

II. THE Unreasonableness of casting the Reproach of this Day's Fact, and of every Thing before and after it, upon the Principles of *True Liberty*, in general; and upon the *Defenders* of them: Whereas it will appear, upon a serious Consideration, (however it may sound at first hearing,) That, of *all Men*, *These* are led by their *Principles*, if they understand them, to an utter and settled Disapprobation of what They have the Reproach of favouring.

vouring. For, what is the *Liberty* contended for, by all Men of Honesty, and Understanding? Not Licentiousness: Not a Right to overturn *Laws* and *Constitutions*, whenever Passion or Rage dictate, and the favourable Opportunity of *Power* offers it self: Much less, a *Licence*, under Pretense of *Liberty*, to destroy all Freedom in Parliament; to set up an Arbitrary Power, and maintain it by Force of Arms. Nothing of all this; but every thing contrary to it. It is the *Liberty* which results from being governed by *Laws* made by *Consent*; the *Liberty* which results from these *Laws* being settled in such a manner, that the Innocent shall always know their own Defense from Injuries, and even the most *Guilty* know before-hand

20 *A Sermon preach'd before the*

upon what their Guilt shall be founded : It is the secure Enjoyment of *Property*, and *Privileges* granted by *Laws*, free from every thing that looks like Violence.

THE *End* of these *Laws* is to guard against the worst of all worldly Evils, *Arbitrary Power*, in whatsoever Shapes or Degrees it may pretend to shew itself, and upon whatsoever *Pretext* it may found such Pretensions ; to preserve Judgment and Justice from the Influences of *Passion* and *Private Resentment* ; and Punishment it self, in the Case even of the meanest Subject, from becoming Cruelty. A Scheme of happiness, not known in the Nations round about Us, either under *Absolute Monarchies*, or *Republics* ; depending, one would judge

House of Lords, Jan. 30. 1720. 21

judge from hence, entirely upon the Nature of that *Mixt Form* under which We live.

BUT what was the Case now before Us? We find plainly that a *Fact*, as Shocking in it self, as it was opposite to the Temper of *Englishmen*, and contrary to the Maxims of the *English Government*, could not be so much as attempted, till the Freedom of *Parliament* was totally destroy'd; the *Balances* which keep our Government in an even Situation, torn asunder; and an *Arm'd Force* made the support of what remain'd of *Civil Government*.

THIS Proceeding is much more agreeable to the Maxims of Those who think and teach (if any such still remain) that *Arbitrary Power* is the best and fittest for the Government of Mankind; than to the Sentiments of *Others* of a contrary
Judg-

22 *A Sermon preach'd before the*

Judgment. For in this Case, All of Legislation, as well as of Government, that remain'd, was influenced and supported by mere Force, which is always *Absolute*. Nay, The Crime and Evil of *Usurpation* it self, upon their own Scheme, is so qualified in process of Time, that *Prescription*, or *Possession* maintain'd for a Term of years, relieves Them at length of very much of their *First Abhorrence* of it. Whereas, No Length of Time, No Tenure of *Prescription*, can reconcile the minds of Those who understand what *Legal Liberty* is, to the total Destruction of a *Legal Constitution*, and to the Settlement of mere Power. The very Thing which, at the End of some Years, would have comforted Others, if a long Possession of Arbitrary Power had continued amongst Us, seems to

to *Them* so big with *Public Misery*,
and *Calamity*, that it heightens and
inflames their Detestation of all
Proceedings which were thought
necessary to such an Evil: an Evil,
which, if one *Cunning* and *Daring*
Usurper had been succeeded by
Another, might probably have cleav'd
to *Us*, and our *Seed* for ever; and
have come at length to have been
the Subject of *Fulsom Panegyric*
to All the Admirers of *Uncon-*
trollable Power; and left to be
lamented in *private* only by Such
as *Those* whose *Principles* are some-
times reproach'd as if They fa-
vour'd what is absolutely inconsi-
stent with them. This leads Us

III. To observe the perfect
Consistency which there is between
a well grounded Disapprobation of
that Scene of Things, which We
this

24 *A Sermon preach'd before the*

this Day lament; and a settled and hearty Approbation of that *Great Transaction* in our own Days, upon which the present Establishment of our *Constitution* is founded. There may be Those, who are so little used to consider a Cause thoroughly, and to pursue it thro' all its Consequences, that They may be surpriz'd to hear a Thing so distant from what they have been used to. But yet it will be found certainly true, that *These two Things* are so far from being *Inconsistent*; that the very Same Principles which lead Men of Consideration to Approve the *Latter*, direct and influence Them to Disapprove the *Former*. For Instance, The Maxim that there is in the Whole Nation a Right to preserve Themselves and their *Constitution of Government*, from Ruine,

House of Lords, Jan. 30. 1720. 25

Ruine, is so far from implying in it, that a *Particular Party* of a Nation has a *Right* to possess itself of the *Governing Power* by *Force*, or *Trick*; or to tear in Pieces a *Legal Constitution*; or to commit *Acts of Violence* against Every Branch of that *Constitution*, as well as against *Private Men*: *It is so far*, I say, from implying these things, that it strongly implies, and inforces the *Contrary*. As therefore, in the *One Case*, there was the *Concurrence* of All Ranks, and All the Differing Sorts, amongst Us, against all the *Arm'd Force* in the Land, contending whose Cries and Calls should be loudest for Relief; and in the *Other*, the *Conjunction* of a *Few*, secur'd only by their having all the *Arm'd Force*, then in being, on their Side: As, on the *One Hand*, the *Concurrence* of the *Whole* was directly and truly design'd for the *Preservation* of our *Legal Constitution*;

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26 *A Sermon preach'd before the*

stitution; and, on the Other hand, the Views of particular Men were to be carry'd on by the Destruction of that Constitution, and the extinguishing all Freedom of Parliament: As the One ended in the antient Form of Legal Government, and a stronger Establishment of the Rights of Subjects, and Parliaments; and the Other, in a direct Avowal of Arbitrary Power, where any of the Legal Rights or Privileges, belonging to Parliament or People, stood in the Way: As there are These, and the like, Essential, and Irreconcilable Differences between the One and the Other; (too many to be now enumerated;) it is evident that the Proceedings of the Whole Nation, in the One Case, stand approv'd and supported by the same Principles, which lead most effectually to the Condemnation of the Proceedings of a Part possess'd of Power, in the Other Case. But, IV. As

IV. As these Things happen'd to our Forefathers for *Ensamples*; so let Them be *Ensamples* to Us, not only to chuse what was Good in the Conduct of Some, but to avoid what was Evil in Others, and what indeed hindered all the Good which was propos'd. The Great Lesson is, That on all Sides Men suffer not their Personal Resentments, Passions, Disappointments, or Private Interests, to enter into their Contests, where the Public is concern'd. At least, to guard against their Influences, as much as it is possible for Humane Nature to do. I say, As much as possible, well knowing how hard a Lesson this is, and how seldom the Practice of it is to be hoped for. There is something in *Self-Love* so deeply rooted, that Private Interests and Private Views have often a silent and effectual Influence upon Men, even when their *Mouvements* are not distinctly felt within. Nor would I be un-

28 *A Sermon preach'd before the*

derstood to insinuate that it is always impossible that *These* should happen to fall in with what is truly for the *Public Good*. But this is by Accident : and it being really the Satisfaction of our *Passions*, which gives Life to all Proceedings in which *These* mix themselves, the Experiment upon this Account is always dangerous. For the Nature and Operation of *These* Principles is such, that They will obscure or discolour the brightest Object ; They will make *That* appear reasonable, which is profitable, or agreeable to some Present View ; and throw a Disgrace upon whatever does, not tend to satisfy Themselves. Take away *These* ; and *Public Good* appears Naked and open to every Eye, free from all Difficulties and Embarrassments : But let *These* enter in their full Strength ; and *Public Good* becomes only Another Word for our own *Private Views* and *Passions*. But of All Principles of
Action

House of Lords, Jan. 30. 1720. 29

Action in humane Nature, Revenge for Personal Injuries is seen to make the greatest Havock in all Public Disputes and Disorders. For, as it is naturally *blind* against all Light, and *Deaf* to all Argument; so, it can be Sated by Nothing but some one particular *Sacrifice* which it proposes; after which is compassed, it generally ends in Shame and Repentance. The Power of these Principles is known to be so great in Civil Affairs, that one main Foundation of all Civil Government, is, That Men ought not to be the Avengers of their own Personal Injuries; And this Fundamental Maxim of Society is sacredly observ'd through the Whole Tenor of our *English Laws*; and never transgress'd or neglected but upon Extraordinary Occasions.

How terrible was the Force of These seen to be in the Days of our *Fathers*? Especially, when they were set on Fire by that *mistaken Zeal,*

30 *A Sermon preach'd before the*

Zeal, (the true and genuine *Enthusiasm*;) which at once inflames and consecrates the *Passions*; at once actuates them into *Rage* to all extremities, and sanctifies that *Rage* by the sacred Names of *God* and *Religion*: By which it came to pass that the Cause of every heated *Imagination* became the Cause of *God*; that whatever Men thought well of, in Religious Affairs, for Themselves, They came to think it their Duty to force upon Others; and that *Mutual Toleration* was declared by Some, who once wanted it themselves, the *Greatest* of all the *Monsters* which those unhappy Times brought forth.

We have much to learn from these Things; and much to avoid. Let us imitate all that Zeal of our *Forefathers* for our *Legal Constitution*, which was visibly design'd, and naturally tended, to prevent future *Encroachments* of *Power*, either against, or without, *Law*.
And

House of Lords, Jan. 30. 1720. 34

And let us fly far from all those *Methods* which naturally paved the Way to the *Loss* of all that *Freedom* which they pretended to secure. Let us value our *Liberties*, as *Honest Men*: Not only for the *Pleasure* and *Security* They afford to Ourselves; but as a *Trust* repos'd in Us for our *Posterity*, much more *Sacred* and *Important* than Any other *Legacy* of this *World*, that we can leave them. Let not our *Passions* be our first *Instructors* in any *Step* of our *Public Conduct*. But let them *Themselves* be instructed and guided by our *Reason*. Let our *Love* to what we justly approve, and chuse for ourselves, in *Religion*, engage Us to such *Charity* and *Forbearance* towards *Others*, as may demonstrate our *Gratitude* for our own *Happiness*; and our deep *Sense* that *Whatsoever* we may account the *Cause* of *God* is to be promoted by None but the *Methods* of *God*.

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IN a Word, As *Britons*, enjoying the Blessings of a *Constitution* unknown to all the Countries around Us, even where the Word *Liberty* is still us'd; and, As *Christians*, enjoying the Light and Liberty of the *Gospel*; Let us secure, as much as can be, the Repose and Comforts of this present Life by valuing and preserving that *Form of Government* which administers so much Good to Us; and let Us press, with unwearied Steps, to the Rewards of the *Life which is to come*, (free from all the Vicissitudes and Confusions of the happiest Kingdoms of this World) by walking worthy of our *Holy Vocation*, and adorning our Profession by a truly *Christian* and unblameable Conversation.

Which God grant, for the Sake of Jesus Christ our Lord, &c.

F I N I S.